1: Honigmann K-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahanni ND12

272 with water is used in summer. In winter, powdered whole milk, which is easier to transport and which cannot become damaged by freezing, is generally prepared.

276 *Stimulants and condiments.* Tobacco has attained wide popularity in the Kaska area and is smoked, chewed, and, in the form of snuff, held in the mouth without chewing. While a few older men smoke pipes, the majority of men and women prefer cigarettes, particularly the American brands to which they have been introduced by soldiers and civilians engaged on work along the Highway. Boys begin to smoke at about the age of nine and girls at about fourteen. In Lower Post, people commonly buy readymade cigarettes (at thirty-five cents a package). Including the many cigarettes that must be given to friends who temporarily lack "smokes," a person consumes a pack of cigarettes a day. In the bush, nearly all smokers roll their own smokes, an exception being Old Kaska who supplies himself with a winter's supply of "tailor smokes." For rolling, the stronger tasting rice paper (Chameleon brand) is generally preferred. Donald Sam was the only person observed to moisten dry cigarette tobacco by first rolling it in his hand and then breathing into his clenched fist. Only rarely is a supply of smokes rolled in advance of a journey. Young girls, however, sometimes preserve partly smoked stubs in empty match boxes and use these while traveling in cold weather, when rolling cigarettes is difficult. Men who are playing cards, gambling, or drinking may request an unoccupied youth or wife to roll smokes for them. In smoking cigarettes are generally held between the thumb and index finger, the hand being cupped around the glowing tip (Pl. 1, c). They are smoked until quite small and are then usually thrown into the fire or, in summer and fall, stamped out with the foot.

Both men and women take snuff really. When the supply of prepared snuff is exhausted, a person may prepare his own by mixing cigarette tobacco with white wood ashes on a piece of cardboard. The mixture is spread thin and heated in front of a fire. While snuff takers as well as tobacco chewers also smoke cigarettes, for most people smoking is not a satisfactory substitute for the other forms of tobacco. The chewing of plug tobacco is almost entirely restricted to men.

263 The principal condiments used by the Kaska are salt, pepper, cinnamon, ketchup, pickles (in summer), Worcestershire sauce, and prepared mustard. Older folks, not having been brought up to use salt often use it sparingly, but for most people it is an indispensable feature of the diet.

● 511 *Standard of living.* Unlike the situation prevailing with respect to capital goods, which are nearly concentrated, readily available, or freely loaned, the distribution of consumer goods varies more sharply among different families. The principal factors making for an unequal standard of living are: differences in hunting ability, luck in hunting, health, the degree of extensive investment in trapping, the character of a trap line, and the willingness of a man to work for wages during the summer. Families in which there are several able hunters and persistent trappers are better provided with consumer goods than families consisting of old or infirm people or those whose productive members are reluctant to exert themselves.

939 The average combined winter and spring earnings of a Kaska family are about $1000. A
§35 very few men earn as high as $1000 a year, others earn only from $300 to $500. In appraising these figures it must be remembered that families often have several children and unproductive old people who must be fed, and that prices for food and most supplies are very high in the North.

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

A large portion of these earnings goes to pay back the credit extended by traders the previous fall. The balance is used by the family to live in Lower Post during the summer at which time cash is paid for everything purchased. The record established by a man in trapping in turn determines the amount of credit which will be extended to his family the following fall to be used in purchasing food and supplies for winter consumption. Credit, however, is not the only factor determining the distribution of consumer goods in winter, since there is a limit to the amount and quality of food that can be transported to the settlement. The number of moose and other game animals which can be killed in the fall and winter also has an importance bearing on the family's standard of living. [426] 511 452

TABLE 8. MINIMAL BUSH STANDARD OF LIVING

Item	Price	Item	Price
50 lbs. flour	$ 6.00	5 lbs. oatmeal	$1.00
4 lbs. lard	1.00	5 lb. butter	.65
5 lb. tea	.75	1 lb. jam	.25
2 lbs. baking powder	1.00	1 lb. bacon	.60
10 lbs. sugar	1.00	2 cakes face soap	.25
10 lbs. beans	1.00	2 cakes laundry soap	.25
25 lbs. rice	4.50	1 lb. chewing tobacco	1.00
1 lb. cheese	.50	1 lb. cigarette tobacco	1.00
3 lbs. dried milk	1.00	3 pkgs. cigarette papers	.30
1 lb. salt	.50	10 pkgs. matches	.25
5 lbs. barley	1.00	25 candles	.50
100 lbs. dog food	17.50	50 large cartridges	2.50
8 lbs. dried apples	1.50	50 .22 cartridges	.50
1 lbs. raisins	1.00	Needles, thread, etc.	1.00
3 lbs. macaroni	1.50		
			44.60

511 435

Because money is generally plentiful in the spring after a family returns from trapping, the unequal standard of living is not generally apparent in Lower Post. Almost everyone has money to spend for new clothes, canned meat, fresh fruit, pies, doughnuts, cigarettes, candy, and whiskey or rum. An average family's expenses for these months in Lower Post amounts to about $700. Women, and particularly adolescent girls, spend a large part of their winter earnings for clothes, buying many blouses, slacks and jackets when they arrive in the post in the spring, or ordering these garments from mail order houses. Men and boys tend to combine clothes purchases to necessary items and generally secure these on credit in the fall. Their surplus money goes largely for alcoholic liquors. 511

In winter, the inequality shows up more sharply. A minimal standard of bush living is shown in Table 8. This indicates the amount of food and necessary supplies which a family consisting of two adults and one child, and owning four dogs, requires in one month. The prices are for Lower Post and must be almost doubled for gauging living standards at a remote outpost like Frances Lake. 511 435

If the monthly sum is multiplied by the nine months that the average family spends in

1: Honigmann E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

511 435 the bush, it will be seen that a minimal standard of living away from the post for a family of this size requires the expenditure of about four hundred dollars. Most families, of course, spend more than this.

511 It is interesting to compare the minimal requirements shown in Table 8, which were obtained from Indians, to the monthly ration allowed to an indigent adult (or child over twelve) by the Indian Affairs Branch (Table 10).

From bills, which he had preserved, it was possible to reconstruct at least part of Old Man's winter outfit for 1940. His purchases, made for a family of four at one store, are listed in Table 9 and may be regarded as quite average. Many of the items were probably duplicated in his purchases at the other trading company, with other items, like dog food and matches, added.

TABLE 9. PART OF OLD MAN'S WINTER OUTFIT—1940

Item	Price	Item	Price
204 lbs. white flour	$17.00	10 lbs. lard	$ 1.25
50 lbs. whole flour	6.00	3 boxes corn flakes	1.75
25 lbs. rice	3.00	16 lbs. jam	4.75
250 lbs. sugar	16.60	4 lbs. salt	1.00
16 lbs. brown beans	3.20	1 club beans	4.50
24 lbs. navy beans	3.30	10 lbs. lentils	2.50
25 lbs. white beans	3.40	1 carton candles	8.50
20 lbs. corn meal	1.50	1 salt	30.00
3 lbs. mustard	1.20	10 bbls. 3 soaps	25.00
50 lbs. dry milk	10.00	1 doz. bbls. 6 soaps	1.75
25 lbs. raisins	10.00	1 doz. bbls. 1 soaps	6.00
25 lbs. prunes	8.50	1 pr. pants	7.00
8 boxes .50/50	17.00	1 mackinaw	12.00
1 carton .20 long	7.00	4 case eggs	10.00
10 lbs. tea	10.00	1 axe	2.50
11 lbs. coffee	13.75	assorted twine	8.25
3 lbs. soap nuts	1.25	1 dressings bag	6.00
2 cans egg powder	2.50		
7 lbs. syrup	2.50	Total	$209.50
10 lbs. butter	7.50		

A complete winter outfit, including replacement of capital goods, totaling in all about $500, would last Old Man, his wife, daughter, and his wife's granddaughter until Christmas, when most of these purchases (excluding capital goods) would again be duplicated. From these data it may be estimated that a family of two adults and two children with several dogs requires an outfit costing about $1000 for the winter stay in the bush.

Data have been presented showing first, the Indian's own estimate of a family's minimal monthly food requirements, and, second, some of the food which an average family takes into the bush for winter living. Table 10 represents the monthly rations allowed to Indians

1: Honigmann: E-5 (1943-1945) 1949 ND12 Nahane ND12

TABLE 10. PRICE OF MERCHANDISE KASKAS HAVE BOUGHT IN RECENT YEARS

Item	One Adult	Two Adults
Flour (Canada approved)	[illegible] lbs	[illegible] lbs
Rolled oats	[illegible] lbs	[illegible] lbs
Baking powder	[illegible] lb	[illegible] lb
[illegible]	[illegible] lb	[illegible] lb
[illegible]	[illegible] lb	[illegible] lb
[illegible]	[illegible] lbs	[illegible] lbs
[illegible]	[illegible] lbs	[illegible] lbs
[illegible]	[illegible] lbs	[illegible] lbs
Tea	[illegible] lbs	[illegible] lbs
Oranges	[illegible] lb	[illegible] lbs
Dried milk	[illegible] lbs	[illegible] lbs
Silk	[illegible] lbs	[illegible] lbs
Mitchins	[illegible] cd to end per month	
	[illegible] cd to end per month	

who, because of age or widowhood, are presumed to be unable to trap sufficient furs to maintain themselves. Lacking even such essentials as soap and dried fruit, these women are evidently expected to be supplemented by meat and fish supplied by relatives or friends or caught in rabbit snares. The allowance is heavily criticized by most Indians.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Clothing is used for protection and modesty but relatively little attention is paid to dress as a channel for expressing vanity. Although new and attractive clothes are greatly valued by girls, only one or two young women are characterized by any demonstrable [illegible] in this respect. Most women are not careful in the way they dress, change clothes relatively infrequently (although more often than men), and wear garments that are stained, worn, and ill fitting. [illegible]

In summer men wear two-piece suits of knitted cotton underwear with long sleeves and drawers. Over this are trousers of cotton duck or worsted, and a flannel shirt with long sleeves. The trousers are often khaki colored, the shirt blue or gray. The collar is left open and in very warm weather several additional buttons of the shirt and undershirt are undone. Trousers are supported by a leather novelty belt which is often quite wide and gaudily studded. Heavy woolen socks are worn over ankle high leather boots which are usually laced from the outside in, instead of from inside out. A few of the older men wear slipper moccasins.

A wide variety of headgear is favored.* Young men are attracted to "cowboy" hats or wide brimmed fortunes. Older men usually wear dishpanned snap brim felt hats. Other types of headgear appear and disappear as fads take hold. In 1944, Tahltan Indian youths from [illegible]

* The list is dated January 1, 1944. Children under twelve years receive half this ration. "This ration," the list reads, "is set by the Indian Affairs Branch at Ottawa and storekeepers must not change either the quantities or commodities without written permission from the local Indian Agent."

* In conversation, Dr. Cornelius Osgood has pointed out that a taste for novelty in headgear seems to be characteristic of aboriginal and contemporary Northern Athapaskans and is also found in the Northwest Coast. For some types of headgear see Plate 2.

182 (which appears to be particularly severe in the Upper Liard region, which lies west of the
184 Highway and along the air routes), and for the consequent reduction of persons and fur to
177 the native diet.

Malnutrition, however, is also a consequence of the fact that people going into the bush
182 in the fall are not in possession of sufficient purchased food for winter consumption. Grub
184 then becomes exhausted before it can be replenished and for weeks adults and children are
211 then forced to live on a diet of bannock or Indian bread, beans, Indian rabbits, and a little
fish. To understand the reasons for such shortages requires an examination of the attitudes
and behaviour with which the Kaska Indians approach the business of living. The gist of
these factors is such that the people are not able to assess the sufficiency of their own idea
of an adequate standard of living. Little effort is made, for example, to secure more beans in
the fall than is immediately consumed, hence there is no surplus which can be preserved for
winter consumption. Such preservation would make grub stretch further and is, in fact, an
ideal of the people. This observation is one made without being aware that measures of
game have been disturbed by technological developments in the Canoe. Admittedly that
disturbance makes hunting more difficult and less rewarding. The fact is, however, that
men tend not to have until a supply of meat is exhausted. Ideas of frugality, therefore, have
little influence in determining hunting behaviour. Trapping is similarly relatively little motivated
by ideas of frugality. The long delays likely to occur between visits to the trap line
(delays which are ideally condemned by the people themselves), and the haphazard methods
of trapping all result in an accumulation of furs too small to permit the supply of an
adequate winter diet the following year. Furthermore, there is no realistic evaluation of the
amount of food that will be required for winter consumption. Partly because of sentimental
circumstances and also for psychological reasons, which will be discussed in connection
with the ethos of the society, people underestimate their needs and commonly forget important items of grub. Such neglect may lead to borrowing in the same or neighboring settlement, with the result that other families are quickly reduced to shortage.

182 As we have pointed out, few men buy their winter outfits for cash. The proceeds of
211 the winter and spring fur sales quickly disappear to make up deficiencies occurring in the
course of the winter bush life, to pay debts contracted the previous fall, and to live during
the summer in Lower Post. People, therefore, live from hand-to-mouth, and if achieves enters
the circle and disrupts winter trapping, severe disorganization must follow. Winter illness
means the debts remains unpaid, additional credit is withheld or drastically reduced, and
malnutrition with its evil consequences becomes immediate. A potential means of supplementing the winter's work by contracting labor to white men is neglected even by those
men who do poorly in trapping and have most need for additional sources of income. The
reasons for this reluctance to engage in wage work may be defined structurally (i.e., with
reference to alternative or conflicting economic pursuits) and psychologically. A structural
explanation for the lack of interest in working for white men is to be found in the fact that
another way of making a living, trapping, is readily available to the Indian. He can usually
obtain a nominal amount of credit or otherwise procure, for example, by borrowing an
older man's helper) the minimal capital goods necessary for such independent production.
Psychologically, as will be demonstrated in connection with Kaska ethos, the Indian prefers

[illegible]

In large part, as we have indicated, the Indians have failed to solve novel or unprecedented problems which are consequences of the presence of the Ewdu area by foreign agents. Equally, however, the failure to secure efficient adaptation is also an inevitable product of the Indian's system of motivation. We attempt use the model of magic and gift for the conditions we have just described. The Ewdu are no more to blame for their failure to provide themselves with adequate incomes than the Canadian and American governments can be held responsible for disrupting the fishery of game in the area. We have simply tried to define the efficiency of the Indian's system of motivating health, life, and physical comfort to achieve food, in the demands of the human organism and, secondly, in the resources of the natural environment. We have done this with the assurance that the basic values of survival and comfort were shared by the Ewdu themselves. Certain other implicit judgments, such as the need of self-reliance and planning in the pursuit of getting a living, are more immediately derived from the anthropologist's own society but are also clearly accepted by the Indians.

To sum up the conclusions drawn from the cultural culture, we can say first, that the resources of the society—specifically, technological knowledge—are adequate for the task of adaptation to the traditional problems presented by the environment. Second, where problems have been introduced by culture contact, like the displacement of game and fish area, the Indian possesses few aids for meeting their demands. Finally, the Indian has not learned to fit himself into the modern wagging economy and as a result suffers from culture strains, which increases his susceptibility to disease.

* If we assume Ewdu society with our view, we find in the base certain conditions supporting the return of wage labor which are completely unknown to the Indians. Primitive society, for example, has such resources that well age independent in survival. Without wage-free people a no money possess the skills required to make a living. The lack of some coaching from primitives is another factor substituting the wage system in Primitive Unemployment, as some have opportunities to use the media to placing the orders in a primitive world with little consequence loss of prestige. Finally, no money does not finally in such provide opportunities for earning an independent production.